1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

son. In this way certain *veins* within each *bone* manage to control the seats of that *bone* within the council of the great, but if a man of great ability arises in a *vein* of eligible standing which has not previously sent a representative, the old men may be forced by expediency to send him rather than a member of their own *vein*, who may be of mediocre ability. Sometimes, however, a councillor is chosen who is exceptionally stupid and incapable of expressing himself well in deliberations. Such a councillor is chosen for his physical strength and fighting ability, since deliberations of these bodies often end in pitched battles; two or three intelligent men may be enough to bear the brunt of the mental labor involved, and the others can serve as valuable henchmen in a crisis.[1]

The council of the great meets in the common mosque of the *canton*, under the olive trees by a stream, in the house of one of its members, in market (see plate 30), or wherever it pleases the members to convene. The councillors elect a *mokaddem* as moderator and spokesman.

The councillors of each *canton* in the tribe go together, in time of crisis, to a place agreed upon, called the *ayarau* (which means also "tribal council"). This meeting place has no fixed locality, but depends upon mutual convenience. The councillors enter by groups and sit down on the ground huddled together, the various groups forming a circle. Each *fifth* occupies a section of the circle and its councils of *cantons* are contiguous. The moderator of each council talks, generally in a whisper, to its members, until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. The moderator now having, as it were, received the instructions of his constituency, approaches the center of the circle, where he squats down with the other moderators in a nuclear circle. The councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and generally express their readiness to defend their spokesman in case he enters into a violent argument; the moderators likewise hold their gun butts against the ground with their fingers clasping the trigger guard. They discuss the matter at hand, all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator at this meeting, and for one member to bid another be silent would be considered ample excuse for murder. The moderators of a *fifth* usually agree within themselves, and the argument soon devolves into consideration of how many *fifths* favor one opinion and how many the other. A moderator of one *fifth* may lead aside an influential moderator of another and whisper to him outside the ring of councillors, trying to win him over to his way of thinking by arguments and promises of bribery. If the moderator so entreated succumbs to this persuasion he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his *fifth*. In this way the parley goes on and on until an unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting between themselves and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In the latter case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay an indemnity to the other. Even when the tribal council ends peacefully it often takes a week or more before an agreement is reached.

We thus see that the deliberative bodies in Riffian government are really composed of but two sets of members, the village council composed of adolescents who handle the small

[1] During the combats with Spain in the last three decades, certain councillors have arisen from time to time who have acted as virtual dictators. Among these were Moh Azerkan of the Beni Urriaghel, Hajj Bukheish of the Gzennaya, and, more widely known than the others, Abd el Krim. The rise of such dictators is psychologically un-Riffian; in these cases it was brought about by too late a realization of the necessity of union against a common foe.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
● 578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

627 enemy's grave after he has killed him, cuts off a piece of his liver or
578 tongue, and puts it into his own mouth, the vow being considered to
666 be fulfilled through this act of symbolical cannibalism. Other vows in the Rif are to swear to kill an enemy and then to drink his blood, or to roast his liver and throw it to the dogs; but the person who has taken the former vow, on killing the enemy, only puts some of his blood into his own mouth and afterwards spits it out.

627 In many instances the promissory oath is a sworn vow either to re-
578 frain from an act or from acts of a certain kind until a certain design has been accomplished, or to do a thing in case a certain promise is not fulfilled or a certain wish is not complied with. In those parts of the country in which the blood-feud is rife it frequently happens that a relative of the murdered man makes a vow, silent or audible, to refrain from having his head shaved (Jbala, many Arabs of the plains, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Shloh of the Great Atlas and Aglu), from washing or changing his clothes (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager), from having matrimonial intercourse (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager), from slaughtering an animal (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or from going to the market (Ait Waryager), until revenge has been taken. Among the Ait Waryager the women of the [516] family in such a case also refrain from wearing silver ornaments round the head or the neck and from painting themselves with henna, and boys and unmarried men, who otherwise make use of henna at the feast of the Mulud and at weddings, refrain from doing so if their father has taken a vow of this kind.

789 [518] Besides the conditional self-imprecation, or oath, there are other conditional curses, which are directed, not against the curser himself, but against somebody else. This is the case with the 'ar and, in many cases, the 'ahd.

The word 'ar literally means "shame", but in Morocco it is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request. If a person says to another, Ha l-'ar alik, "Here is 'ar upon you", or Hada 'ar 'alike, "This is 'ar upon you", it implies that if the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the 'ar. A stronger expression is to represent the 'ar cast on a person as 'ar on God, the Prophet, or some saint with an implicit request to curse the person if he does not do what is asked of him.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijūjgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqīn* of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith 'Abdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith 'Ammarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new *thārfiqth* of their own, Aith Ḥandu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a *farīqath* or canton.

In the Wuryāghlī sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence. Although murders within the *thārfiqth* did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the local holy man, *sharīf* or *murābiṭ* was brought around at once to appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same *thārfiqth* (in Tharwa n Muḥammādi 'Alūsh, Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī): he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

Each *thārfiqth*, however, was usually at war with its neighbors. Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group,

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
[557] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.
623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

619 [423] [191] A large number of their families own land in the region immediately north of Jbil 'Ain 'Uqqa. They are bilingual, but they prefer to speak Rifian, which they learn as children.

The l-'Atamna (of the Asht r-Udha) say that they are descended from the Huwwara, which does not seem probable, considering that they all show "Berber" characteristics and that the Hawwara were "Arabs".

The Dharwa Haddu consider themselves to be descended from the Ulad 'Assu bin 'Abd Allah (Rifian Asht 'Assu 'Abd Allah) and from the Eastern Rifian tribe of Aith Bu Yihyi[154].....The ancestors of Hamza bin 'Abd Allah are buried in the latter area, near the Angad.

[166] A large number of Igzinnayen, some 1500 families, mostly from Asht 'Asim, left their own land to move to l-Mta, just north of Fez. Various reasons have been given for this, the most probable being that of poverty[155].

The Asht r-Udha, Ishawiyen, Bu Isri and Izimmuren (of the Asht r-Udha) are descendants of Abu 'Amama, whose grandfather Talib ibn Isma'il ibn Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah of Rashida was appointed basha of Igzinnayen by the Sultan 'Abd Allah Hamrini Tamrin in the 7th century A.H. On the other hand, there is still a group of Asht Hamza in the area around Aknul.

The Asht Mhand (or Bni Mhammad), in the earliest times of which the Arab chroniclers have any record, resided in the Jbil Sidi S'aid, in the area at present occupied by the shurfa of Aith Sidi S'aid in Mtalsa. Due to a dispute which rose up among them, they became divided. [578] [166] Some went to the Bni Bu Ya'la in the Branis and the rest formed the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, where they are today.

000
[114]
[311]
165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616]
[578]
173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616]
[619]
175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613]
[616]
The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[776]
[778]
177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

616 or similar agglomerates. This might also perhaps explain the persis-
182 tence in disorder up to exhaustion point, for thanks to an obscure
[628] family feud, a chain reaction would unleash violence throughout the
[578] whole region as fast as a burning cigarette can produce a forest fire[35].

616 There is no doubt that through their origins the tribes can
619 be classified into two great groups, Sanhaja and Ghumara, which formed
101 the two great Rifian alliances of the same names, and between which the Rifian tribes were distributed in an apparent equilibrium, as follows[36]:

Ghumara: Ibuqquyen, Aith Yittuft, Aith 'Ammarth, Mtiwa dyal Bhar (Mtiwa of the Sea), Ghmara Proper (Bni Rzin, Bni Khalid, Bni Silman, Bni Zjil, Bni Buzra, Bni Mansur, Bni Grir, Bni Smih and Bni Ziyat), Bni S'aid (of the Jbala, not the Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid), Bni Zarwal, Bni Zarwal, Bni Winjil, Slas, Hiyaina, Branis, Igzinnayen[37], Marnisa, Mtiwa dyal Uta (Mtiwa of the Plain), Bni Mstara and Ghzawa.

Sanhaja: Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Mistasa[38], Aith Waryaghar, 1-Khmas, Bni Waryagil[39], Jaya, Mzzyat, Rgiwa, Dsul, Rhuna, and Sanhaja Srir (Ktama, Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Aith Bu Nsar and Bni Bu Shibt).

616 However, it seems somewhat limited to attribute the basis of Rifian political preferences and the reason for alliances in the region to this dim and garbled tradition of the very distant past[40]. If, on the other hand, the form of government or religion were in dispute, it would be easier to explain its affinities to the European type[44]. Furthermore, if we discard as vaguely traditional such causes of union

A, [This should read "41" not "44"--Analyst]

628 pick up his rifle in defense of justice (a few days of visiting, free food, participation in the sharing of the fines, and even a raid, if this be the case). In the latter instance, everyone was (translator's italics) interested and desired to see justice done (with concomitant benefits of a meal and collecting one's own share of the fine).

671 Rifian law, according to note 7, is definitely superior (sic) to European law, because it obliges anyone who submits to it only to accept it and to agree to its fulfillment, accepting beforehand the santions which it establishes.

671 554 794 212 It is in these qanuns that Rifians may see sharply reflected who exactly are the men of prestige in the group to which they attach themselves and even the order of preference, by means of the names which figure in them; but we must not lose sight of the fact that they are edited by tulba of childish mentality (sic), a mentality deformed by their Islamic education; and that these tulba do not even translate Berber conceptualizations into their Arabic writing, as may be observed in other qanuns, thus altering the natural order in favor of their religious inclinations.[26]

578 794 212 671 Nobody believes, then, that such individuals cited in the first place figure in the documents for reasons of religiosity, but for the convenience of the ingharen who, jealous of their prestige, would have promoted interminable altercations in order to be first, in their jealous egalitarianism, and the necessity, which they saw themselves in order to avoid it, of putting above their disputes and petty jealousies individuals of neutral appearance, such as tulba, to officiate as the pacifying presidents of their stormy council-meetings (igrawn).

681
673

Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673
623
685
423

An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623
423
578

The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is, then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623
[793]

Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

[574]
[623]
[681]
[554]

But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

623 554 legislate, but it is not maintained by conferring distinctions on them, converting them into a caste, nor by giving them stipends for their work. For this same reason, the council-members have, perhaps, greater esteem among their neighbors. On the other hand, the jma'th punishes [581] disobedience to its decrees, but it does not impose a penalty on those who disobey the shaikh, who is simply a representative of the people with outside denomination expressed in writing (i.e. in Arabic), in view of the difficulty of expressing this in his own language.[44] That [622] he is a simple titular and outside arbiter is shown by the fact that his function, in Arabic terminology and organization, would be that of a mqaddim.

671 554 623 [578] This qanun is an excellent example of the beginnings of a trend toward personal power concentrated in a single individual, the shaikh, charged with the representation of the jma'th and the execution of its agreements;.....and we may perceive indistinctly the intrigue and the deaf struggle between this personage and the rest of the community, who are jealous of his attributes. In the first draft, the document is declared valid (Blanco: paragraph f, in text); but in the oversights pointed up in the re-reading of the document, and certainly at the shaikh's request, they consent to the fact that obedience to him be recommended in the addenda; but they have been careful, in the preceding paragraph (paragraph i), to state that only they can make resolutions or define crimes and misdemeanors through enforcement of law and punishment, always granted, of course, that such enforcement be useful (author's italics); but neither the shaikh nor anyone else can invent or contrive more than his council, because only they are capable

423 675 312 that this would have rendered useless all demands and threats voiced by downstream groupings for the transfer of even a minimal amount of flow, and in our time things have not varied; those upstream use all the water that they can, and those downstream, the overflow; and it would not occur to anybody to vary this procedure, followed since time 312 immemorial. To this procedure is very well adapted the regimen of the rivers in the Rif, in the dry beds of which water does not run on the surface, but rises up only in fixed points, each one of these forming, with the help of improvised dams, the sources or points of origin of successive irrigation ditches, making them seemingly independent.

133 241 (578) In addition, the narrow fissures which form the beds of such torrential rivers, their irregular flow, their devastating overflows and floods, in short, opposed nature and men so that the latter would have some motive for doing this and even need it for their small irrigable crop and the bare necessities of life; for it did not and would not occur to anyone to work or cultivate any more land than that necessary for his own subsistence, as anything else, overflow aside, would have attracted the envy of neighbors and strangers, and this in 675 turn would have led to blows. An association on such a large scale and for such modest objectives was, for this reason, impossible, inefficacious and unnecessary.

312 The river waters, in their upper courses, running between steep banks, scarcely need to be utilized even to a small degree on the minute riverain plots of land. In those beds, water, although actually slight in amount, is in fact overabundant, and land is lacking. Limited to the confines of the ditch by the topographical conditions

312 20th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
571 21st Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)
613 22nd Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn
23rd Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)
24th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
25th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith Muhand u Hmid
26th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
27th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)
28th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)
29th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
30th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

And so on.[140] To attempt to vary this unending chain which the [182] irrigation turns of the Rifians make up in those ditches with permanent flow is to promote major altercations and to upset the equilibrium of the whole of the Plain of al-Husaima.

312 The simple attempt by a Rifian miller to divert for a few
571 seconds the water of Bufma'iz so that it would flow to his turbine mill,
402 I recall, provided the motive for a sudden and vehement protest by the
● 578 users of this ditch, en masse, to the authorities; the whole Plain of al-Husaima took alarm to such an extent that no procedure nor influence (on the part of the authorities) could be brought to bear toward the peaceful possibility that the people might acknowledge the man's alleged right; and, nevertheless, this Plain needs more than a concerted arrangement and ordination, an improvement and rectification of the principal ditches;[141] and above all it needs a possible increase of flow for the outlet of subterranean or subalveal waters.

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[571] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
[402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

104 Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

675 through allegation, no litigation related to the water cited above.
-578 If any of them should demand the continuation of the debate through the presentation of proofs or arguments, everything would be null and void, for neither the present nor the future provides for this. Both parties have renounced all arguments, both public or private, which they could allege, as well as all the successive declarations (or reclamations) which could be brought forth to impede putting this agreement into effect.

600 A valid and executive arrangement. Both parties attending know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of it, the undersigned notaries, who know them to be in a perfect state of legal capacity (who know them to be of sound mind and memory), make their testimony. On 28 Qa'da al-Haram of the year 1250 (March 28, 1835).

A signature follows, illegible and signed. Another illegible signature follows the first.

Legalization by the qadi: Praise be to God.--I give faith (or testimony) to the above after both 'udul (notaries) have done so.--Servant of his God.--Signature (of qadi) illegible.

18. A SHAHADA ON WATERS: TRANSLATION:

695 Praise be to God.
312

(693) Both the undersigned notaries compile the testimonies presented by the respected 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Umar al-'Alawi, the honorable 'Umar bin 'Ali, the respected Talib 'Isa Ajtuh, and the honorable Muhammad al-'Arusi, all of the Bani Waryaghal, in which they testify (the testimony of God is the perfect one) that the water ditch, (the property) of 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Ashawil al-Khattabi al-Waryaghli[175]

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their [821] tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sum is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

224 411 of these, and any Rifian worthy of his salt can knock down a partridge in full flight with noteworthy dexterity, and at a distance of fifteen to twenty-five meters.

(824) The sticks which they use are usually of wild olive wood, in the form of shepherds' crooks, backed by a few turns of copper wiring at each end and the upper third; and this at the same time increases resistence to breakage, facilitates throwing by its greater accuracy.... The net result is that the Rifian is as dangerous, or even more so, to game animals or birds than is the average European hunter with a double-barreled shotgun.

224 At the hour agreed upon, when every participant is provided with his corresponding weapon or dog, they all leave their houses and go toward the hunting site, crying "Haw-haw! Haw-haw!", which is the signal of hunting and reunion.

E) Ownership of Game Caught:[188]

Ownership of game which is caught follows certain rules which are based on a general principle attributing the game first to whoever discovers it; second, to whoever kills it; and finally, to whoever collects it. In different (or individual) cases, disputes may take (578) place, and these and the way they are resolved will be discussed (411) further on. The principal elements of judgment are the range of vision of the hunters, and the range of accuracy of the weapons, some fourteen stick-lengths, or forty feet in a stone's throw.

671 224 692 The customary law of Rifian society minutely anticipates how many cases may arise, and as, furthermore, it is inspired by reality, it is simple and useful, requiring of the judges, first, competence,

691 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the ingharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

000 223 224 627 578 671 [191] at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671 223 224 411 4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 223 5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir). [577] [695]

671 223 224 6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

[201] 7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "l-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

553 574 602 431 [578] cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this ceremony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 782 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 574 621 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the

553 556 574 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys. Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, [571] however, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

553

178 611 602 578 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quarrels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matrilineal lines.

121 611 (571) I think that the principle of unilineality is not as important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindustrial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 584 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many nonindustrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely consulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
574 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony [578] the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
574 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
571 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[776] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye,
amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
[768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

562 428 431 578 182 607 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land claims are mutually balanced off.

428 423 607 562 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 428 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheritance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differentiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there 423 183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The 556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which 425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

256 435 472 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regardless of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills are not economically competitive with one another, they are socially competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a locality, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of preference on the part of the users is not determined by convenience of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

256 472 477

[571] [578] [602]

423 427 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor. We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise between a man who has more property than he alone can personally cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own. Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inheritance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these circumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

[464]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

different dam. In deep valleys it is often necessary to move water back and forth across the natural drainage lines. For this purpose, wooden conduits are set on long tripods. Construction of irrigation works begins in the spring, and after a few months of use the water is redirected into its natural course. Since water is required only during the dry season, irrigation systems are designed for the minimum runoff. On steep slopes, water is carefully directed into a series of ponds; check dams are used to impound water from springs. Channels are constructed to lead water to grist mills, but the use of water for milling has a low priority, for most communities also have smaller mills turned by hand.

The construction and maintenance of dams and irrigation ditches require less effort than the construction and maintenance of terraces. With the exception of a few works in the coastal plains, terracing is necessary for irrigation. Since irrigation involves channeling rather than simple flooding, most terraces have a slight slope and are supported by stone walls (pl. 6, *b*). There is no rotation of crops on irrigated land. In areas of thin residual soil the land is gradually built up by the constant deposition of baskets of mud, another of the backbreaking tasks assigned to the women. Fertilizer, a mixture of sheep dung and ashes, is applied each year.

The regulation of water rights is a complicated matter.[14] The rights of preference pass from human beings to animals, crops, and industries. The two main rivers of the Rif, Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, illustrate the problems of management. Wad Ghis has only about a fourth of the flow of Wad Nkour, but its flow is more predictable. Those who irrigate with its waters know the quantity they can expect, and plan accordingly. In normal years Wad Nkour irrigates nearly ten times as much land as Wad Ghis, but in some years it remains little more than a muddy trickle. Hence there is frequent occasion for disputes, which in the past often led to prolonged feuds. In both basins the mountaineers have almost unlimited use of water, while the more numerous plainsmen must be satisfied with what is left. Most Rifian communities have secondary sources of water: wells, springs, and ponds. Each family is allowed a certain time at the water source, and the community as a whole works out the regulations and fines.

An elaborate series of agreements, usually verbal, deals with the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The labor of construction as well as the necessary reconstruction after heavy rains is done by representatives of the families using the water. Infractions of agreement often lead to differences of opinion about these responsibilities or the period of time water is used. Serious disputes may arise over the outlines of ditches, and for this reason it is necessary to gain the consent of each property owner over whose land the water is to flow. The irrigation turns of the larger communities are regulated by days. Within such communities, individual families are allowed shorter periods of use, usually an hour. The mechanics of irrigation requires the use of the hoe to build up and then destroy a tiny diversion dam.

[14] In this section I have made use of J. M. Paniagua y Santos, "Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, 4 (1948), 1–44; D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, 2 (1954), 55–57; and D. A. Caponera, "Water Laws in the Moslem Countries," *FAO Development Paper 43* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1954).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

/175 cont./

000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When ʿAbd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

631 634 619 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however, in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life; the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun," noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet (Biarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/, p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the "ajmoʿa" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the "jemaʿa" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

631 634 619 792 578 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly, if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole country to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouïas over the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

631 619 634 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still looser (2).

2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" [131] possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. Moreover, the marabouts form a supplementary [792] "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

• [578] In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 578 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the development of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
[121] their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
992 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

/296 cont./

175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
• 578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

/401 cont./

900 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; [578] after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his [619] brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of 175 631 669 the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus 648 ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and